ARE OUR PUBLIC SCHOOLS A FAILURE?—JAMES C. BAY

THE Nation

June 26, 1954
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30 Days to Peace?

by Claude Bourdet

Aggression's the Word

The Guatemala Crisis

by J. Alvarez del Vayo

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A Review of Two Books

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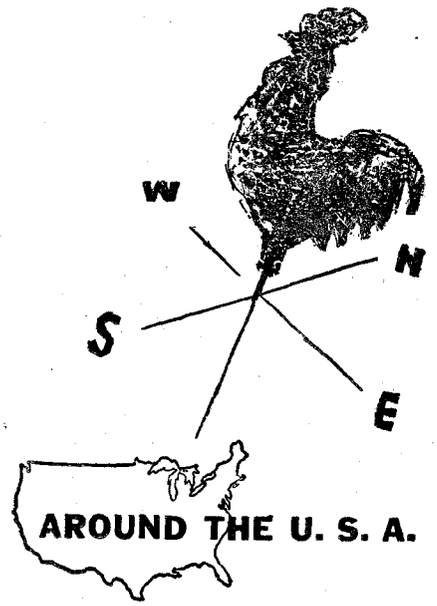

The Little McCarthys at Work in Wisconsin

Madison, Wisconsin

ON June 7 officers of the Wisconsin Joe Must Go Club announced that the attempt to recall Senator McCarthy in a special election had failed. Only 335,000 of the necessary 403,905 signatures had been obtained. But in the eyes of many the movement has served a useful purpose: it demonstrated in many areas what McCarthyism really means and showed how the weapons of fear and intimidation are used to crush opposition to the Wisconsin junior Senator.

One of the most dramatic examples took place in Green Bay, Wisconsin. The victim was Robert C. Houle, a 34-year-old television announcer for a Green Bay station whose troubles began when he accepted the chairmanship of the Brown County Joe Must Go Club. Within twelve hours he was the target of an intensive campaign of abuse, threats, and vilification. Anonymous letters and phone calls branded him as a "Communist." Threats were made to run him and his wife and three small children out of town.

Houle resigned from his TV commitments because of threats by Green Bay residents to boycott his sponsors' products. He was told that he would never get another job in Green Bay. Unemployed, he had plenty of reason to pack up and leave town. Instead he defied all threats and became chairman of the Brown county recall movement on a full-time basis without pay. He took his petitions from door to door. His one-man campaign was not outstandingly successful. But Houle was heartened, he said, by the knowledge that he was doing what he thought was right.

Green Bay is a highly industrialized city thirty-eight miles northwest of McCarthy's home town of Appleton. Its wealth is controlled by a handful of men who are avid supporters of McCarthy. The Green Bay *Press Gazette* and its sister paper, the Appleton *Post-Crescent,* are strongly pro-McCarthy. As a result, large numbers of persons in the area are not aware of the Senator's record; he is known only as the "world's champion hunter of Communists in government." One small businessman from Green Bay told this reporter: "Green Bay is a tough nut to crack on the subject of McCarthy. He has the support of the money in this town and the rest follow like sheep."

Bob Houle's background makes the treatment he has received the more fantastic. He is a native of Green Bay who was twice wounded in World War II, in which he served as a naval aviation gunner in the South Pacific. He has been a civic leader and a member of the Green Bay Junior Chamber of Commerce. Like McCarthy, he is a Catholic and a Republican. He worked for the Brown County campaign for Eisenhower in 1952 and has written publicity releases and speeches for local Republican candidates.

Houle admits that he once was on the fence on the issue of McCarthy. His first brush with McCarthyism convinced him that he could not agree with McCarthy's principles. In August, 1950, Houle was assigned to make a tape-recorded interview with McCarthy for radio station WDUZ in Green Bay. Houle relates the incident as follows:

> In the course of the interview, Senator McCarthy began explaining some of the charges he was making then. He said he had documentary evidence of his charges in his hand and he asked me to confirm this to the radio audience.
>
> Senator McCarthy wasn't showing me anything. He didn't even have a piece of paper in his hand. I stopped him in a minute or two and said—"In all fairness to our listening audience, Senator McCarthy, I feel it is my duty to point out that you have not shown me any documentary evidence. There is nothing on this table to indicate that you have any evidence."

Houle said that McCarthy later took him aside and asked if a new tape could be cut. Houle agreed. Houle no longer has the original tape or knows where it is, but it was played back later and many persons heard the exchange.

Houle said he also resents McCarthy's use of his war record for political purposes. He said he particularly resents this because McCarthy resigned as a Marine Corps officer before the war was over. "On the day Senator McCarthy was discharged," said Houle, "3600 marines died on Iwo Jima."

While the anti-Houle sentiment was at its strongest in Green Bay, Houle demanded and received space in the *Press-Gazette* for a statement of his position. In it he pointed out that his own war record would attest to his devotion and loyalty to his country. "That devotion," Houle added, "demands that I speak out against the fear which grips people who deign to protest . . . who fear loss of friends, business, and jobs. I speak out in the hope that others will do likewise. I speak out now and urge others to do so until the protest shall surge forth in loud waves of denouncement on the Senator's ears. And even though the price of censure, vituperation, and estrangement may be a costly one, the value of freedom and American decency is well worth it."

During the last days of the recall campaign, Houle observed that a reaction was beginning to set in. He said that some of the friends he lost during the initial phases of the drive are beginning to realize that he really is not, never was, and never could be a Communist. Houle believes that the treatment he has received at the hands of his former friends and neighbors may serve as a valuable lesson on the subject of McCarthyism.

Despite current efforts by certain Wisconsin authorities to wreck the Joe Must Go movement by preferring perjury and other charges against its leaders, the group plans to start the recall move again after the November elections. If it does, Houle will be one of those promoting the campaign.

HAROLD E. ENTWHISTLE

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THE Nation

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

EDITORIALS

Churchill at the White House

Washington

AMONG the major misfortunes accompanying Secretary Dulles's tenure at the State Department has been the growing estrangement between Britain and the United States. Consequently Sir Winston Churchill's and Anthony Eden's visit to the White House this weekend was overdue. It is a prank of history that it should be a Churchill government which has been restraining the United States from measures that could precipitate war with Communist China and the Soviet Union. Will the British, in the current Washington talks, be able to continue exerting this moderating influence? How serious are the Anglo-American divergencies? How will each side approach them?

Southeast Asia. Britain insists that the benevolent neutrality of India, Pakistan, Burma, and Ceylon is essential to Dulles's proposed Southeast Asia defense system. Dulles objects. He reasons that this would give India an undue voice in Allied policy, that India would act only in harmony with Red China which, in turn, would behave in consonance with Russia. Dulles concludes that the British thesis would in effect give Moscow a veto over the form and content of the projected pact. If President Eisenhower or Dulles puts this cockeyed syllogism to their British guests, they may well be asked about the veto Syngman Rhee seems able to lodge in regard to America's Asian policy.

More than one secret map has now been drawn to delimit the region to come within the planned defense system. The British concede that Hongkong should remain outside the area. Hongkong doesn't belong to Southeast Asia and, they say further, a treaty guaranteeing such a colonial possession would repel India, Burma, Indonesia, and others. With consummate inconsistency, Churchill insists that Malaya and Singapore must be brought under the pact. So the gods who make history will again smile secretly as the United States is drawn towards guaranteeing to Britain an important segment of its colonial realm.

Mr. Eisenhower and Dulles will press for a defense line as far north as possible, probably embracing Laos and Cambodia, and certainly Thailand, Malaya, and Burma. It is doubtful whether they will insist on including Southern Vietnam, the fate of which is the more obscure because neither we nor the British can foresee the result of the Mendès-France negotiations with the Vietminh. To guarantee Thailand is bad enough. We shall find ourselves perched on a decaying limb. The threat to that country is less from external attack than from within. Riddled with corruption, an outpost of fascism in Asia, unable to sell abroad its overpriced rice, Thailand's misery is growing from month to month.

A factor favoring Britain's hope to avoid embroilment in Indo-China is the continuing split among the United States Joint Chiefs of Staff. It is now known that the Administration, without taking the American people into its confidence, was ready to order United States carrier planes to strike at Dienbienphu on April 28. The British refusal to join in the action prevented it. Among the joint chiefs, General Ridgway's opposition is now prevailing over Admiral Radford's demand for American sea and air intervention. A siege of Hanoi or a dramatic appeal by Bao Dai's Vietnam could cause the pendulum to swing back towards United States intercession.

Europe. The hunt for an alternative to E. D. C. is likely to dominate the European phase of the Eisenhower-Churchill talks. July 14 is the usual date for the French National Assembly to recess, probably until November, and Dulles has been viewing this as the deadline for bringing the European army treaty's ratification within reach. Responsible diplomats, however, have written off the chance of the treaty's passage. So Washington favors separation of the Bonn conventions (the peace treaty with Germany) from the European Defense Community pact. Thus the West could at least restore West Germany's independence, except for certain powers that would be reserved to the Allies. The catch in the plan is that it no longer satisfies the German appetite. Adenauer says that the Allies' reserved powers must go; he is intent, above all, on removing from the Bonn agreements the veto right in matters affecting German unification. He wants also to abolish the proviso permitting the Allies to take control in West Germany in case of serious disturbances endangering American, British, or French troops there. So the United States alternative of bringing the Bonn conventions into effect without E. D. C. seems stymied.

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Whatever arrangement may be renegotiated must pass through the routine of debate and ratification in the parliaments concerned, including the United States Senate. Meanwhile the Germans are speaking of a consultative pact as the opening move in formalizing the Bonn republic's membership in the Western camp.

Certain influential German authorities are suggesting another arrangement to replace E. D. C. It would integrate Italian, Dutch, Belgian, Luxembourg, and German armed forces, as contemplated under the blocked E. D. C. treaty. However, only a strip of central and northern France would come under the E. D. C. command and the French themselves would decide what part of their forces should come into the defense community. Pending a new treaty, West Germany would be allowed some 150,000 troops, all volunteers, who could provisionally be put under United States command. Finally, the revised European army would send a delegate of German nationality to the NATO Standing Group in Washington.

Atomic Energy. Here Eisenhower and Churchill face two problems. The British have been claiming what Dulles considers a veto over the time and place of the use of atomic weapons by the NATO powers, particularly the United States. Secondly, discussions with Russia have come to a dead end on Eisenhower's proposal for an international pool of fissionable materials for peaceful purposes. The President is inclined to go ahead without the Soviets. Britain says "No" because that would defeat the underlying object of alleviating tension in the atomic field.

The British-American talks will range over other topics, of course. They are likely to lead to reopening the Anglo-Egyptian negotiations suspended eight months ago. Britain is offering fresh concessions as part of her withdrawal from the Suez, which would free almost 80,000 British troops garrisoned there. But Eisenhower and Dulles are deluding themselves if they imagine those British forces could then be thrown into the Asian struggle. The British mood is definitely for bringing the boys home. To dispatch them to East Asia under some new commitment could easily sweep Labor back into power.

Well-founded reports say that Eisenhower plans to tell Churchill of the displeasure felt here at the British Labor Party's delegation's planned visit to Communist China. Acknowledging that it is Britain's internal affair, the United States principals intend to warn Churchill against the popular American outcry which they think will follow the departure and return of the Attlee-Bevan mission. Churchill and Eden may well sympathize with these American objections. If the topic is touched at the White House, it may prove to be one of the points of most heartfelt agreement, the net upshot of which would nevertheless be precisely zero.

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Unfinished Business

HISTORIANS and political analysts will find the transcript of the army-McCarthy hearings a fruitful field of study for many years to come. In it great issues were raised: McCarthyism versus the Bill of Rights, McCarthyism versus the system of checks and balances, McCarthyism versus security. One may guess that the longer the perspective from which the historian writes of the hearings, the smaller will be the type in which the names of Cohn and Schine appear.

Another guess: the seven wise men who are now adjudicating the evidence are likely to find it easier to dispose of Cohn and Schine—and Adams, too—than of the broad principles involved. As for certain other characters in the drama, they have already almost disappeared, even as footnotes. This is a pity, from the point of view both of ordinary human curiosity and of justice. What, for instance, is the story behind the story of the suave Mr. Surine, the trimmer of photos, in whom even the adroit Mr. Welch appeared uninterested? What is the truth about the Monmouth scientist, Coleman, who was smeared by McCarthy and who, unlike the more fortunate Mr. Fisher of Boston, found no champion in the room to defend his rights? What is the story which General Lawton of Monmouth would have told had he been called to the stand? His evidence might have done the army cause no good. But it would have helped the American people understand what has been going on at Monmouth and what kind of man is running this "highly sensitive" installation. And, of course, we may never learn who gave that pseudo-F. B. I. document to Snoopy Joe.

But if the hearings posed subsidiary questions not likely soon to be answered, it also posed quite a few of broader import which must be resolved. H. H. Wilson, a contributing editor of *The Nation,* will deal with some of them in next week's issue.

THIRTY DAYS TO PEACE?

Mendès-France's Dare . . *by Claude Bourdet*

WHEN Premier Laniel resigned last week after losing on a vote of confidence in the French Parliament, he could comfort himself with the fact that a whole year of government was quite an achievement for somebody whom no one had expected to remain in power more than a few weeks. In June last year, Laniel had got in somewhat by surprise, as a result of the exhaustion of the National Assembly after a number of unsuccessful efforts to find a Premier. A *real* Premier, then as now, should have been a man not only capable of grouping a political majority around himself (Right against Left, etc.) but also able to find some way out of the North African, the German, and the Indo-Chinese problems which bitterly divide nearly every political group in France.

Laniel was not the man to find these answers, and his slightly bovine self-assurance was often compared, even by his political friends, to the grazing tranquillity of the brown and white cows of his native Normandy. "I've got a hundred Premiers like that grazing on my estate," said another member for Normandy.

But this caretaker government lasted a whole year. The Assembly was always grumbling at Laniel, but every time the deputies thought of bringing him down, they remembered a *real* Premier would have to bring the Indo-China war to an end *without* antagonizing the Americans too much, would have to refuse E. D. C. *without* being cut out of all American aid, would have to restore peace in North Africa *without* infuriating all the French settlers.

Pierre Mendès-France

However, it is dangerous to postpone cures, of political as of physical diseases. Laniel's lack of political intelligence, or maybe interest, left French foreign policy entirely in the hands of his Minister of Foreign Affairs, M. Georges Bidault. Bidault's party is committed to the support of E. D. C., as are its sister parties in Germany, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands. These Catholic parties naturally support the Vatican's policy of building a small and predominantly Catholic Europe, a kind of Holy Roman Empire, dominated by political Catholicism. On the other hand, Bidault and his party have somewhat unwittingly supported from the very first the big colonial interests which started the war in Indo-China. Since then Bidault's party has become associated with so many mistakes that it appears to the French people as mainly responsible for the war. Thus it is easier for the *Mouvement Républicain Populaire* to keep that war going, even at the risk of a third world war,

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than to make the complete about-face which would be necessary.

Last but not least, Bidault's policy has been consistently based upon subservience to United States' desires.

During a year of government by the Laniel-Bidault team, France has grown more and more disgusted with the so-called "European army" plan, a second colonial war is threatening in North Africa—thanks to Bidault's "imperial" policy—and finally Bidault's unflinching attitude in Geneva had found little support in France, save in his own party, even if it earned him great favor in the United States. The realization that with the help of Admiral Radford he was about to deliver the "little" atom bomb on the outskirts of Dienbienphu, and had only been stopped by Winston Churchill's refusal to endorse the consequences, the feeling that he was trying to maneuver both France and the United States into accepting the idea of an all-out American intervention in Indo-China—all this led to a government crisis which was directed even more against Bidault than against Laniel.

MENDES-FRANCE has been known for a long time as the one man who could offer France a new policy in many fields. A man of great financial ability, he had been France's first Finance Minister after the liberation, but had resigned when the business world and the big farmers managed to persuade General de Gaulle to adopt a "loose" monetary and economic policy, thus increasing their profits but making the wage-earners' position worse than it had ever been—and driving many towards communism. Before that, Mendès had served as a flying officer in the Free French forces, and had become famous among French patriots for his extremely courageous and precise handling of bombing missions, coming right down through the enemy gunfire with his squadron in order to drop his bombs with greater precision.

For a number of years, as a member of parliament belonging to the center Radical Socialist Party, he has constantly stood for peace in Indo-China and a more subtle colonial policy in North Africa. A candidate for Premier in June, 1953, he was within a few votes of being nominated—but the opposition of the right wing, of the Christian Democrats, and generally of all elements which pride themselves on being 100 per cent pro-American, defeated him.

Today as then I can imagine these gentlemen loitering around the aisles of the French Assembly, whispering in members' ears: *"Why, if Mendès is elected, it's the ruin of Franco-American relations."* Indeed, if he is defeated this week when he presents his Cabinet before the Chamber, it will largely be due to the unceasing propaganda of the allegedly pro-American politicians. Yet Mendès is by no means anti-American; he is not even leftist nor an actual liberal. In Britain, he would belong to the Conservative Party, and has much in common with Butler. He has repeatedly, this year as well as last year, refused the Communist votes. But he is convinced that France's interests command that it follow its own policy, in accordance if possible with America's, but not under constant submission to the Washington line.

Since 1947 and the beginning of Marshall aid, American governments have grown accustomed to having actual satellite governments in the capitals of Western continental Europe. This has cost America a lot of dollars, but it hasn't earned friends; on the contrary, the people of Western Europe have tended to ascribe to American influence every mistake, every misdemeanor of their leaders; these leaders have often used as their last argument in a crisis, when their own private plans met with some opposition: "The Americans want it done."

Would it not be better for America to try and tolerate some independence in Europe? It might earn friends, who are more useful than stooges. Chester Bowles, writing in the New York *Times,* suggested that so-called "neutral" nations like Sweden, Switzerland, India, and Burma, might prove better friends in a crisis than the allegedly pro-American nations. This is very wise talk indeed, and if some of this wisdom could pervade the State Department and the National Security Council, the world might be better off.

Mendès-France has promised to make peace in Vietnam in four weeks. This is a bold promise and one which a man of such reliability would hardly make without having some facts to support him. The facts seem to be there. Others than Mendès-France also believe Ho Chi-minh means business. M. Gaquet, the de Gaullist member of the Laniel Cabinet who was in charge, at least theoretically, of Indo-Chinese affairs for the last year, raised Bidault's wrath last winter by declaring that Ho Chi-minh's peace offer, published by a Swedish newspaper, was highly interesting. Recently he resigned from the Laniel government as a protest against Bidault's attitude in Geneva. Gaquet felt from the very first that Ho's terms as presented in Geneva —free elections, unity, then joining the French Union—meant that Ho, who really had this war forced upon him by French extreme colonialism, not only wants peace with France but also wants French aid to balance Chinese influence.

Bidault rejected these terms because Washington told him to and because they implied a final end to the war and the liquidation of the Bao Dai puppet regime. He insisted on partition. Molotov and Chou En-lai accepted this, although it meant that foreign bases would remain in South Vietnam, because at the same time it meant Ho would have to rely indefinitely on Russian and Chinese support against any danger coming from those bases.

WITH Mendès-France as Premier, it is quite possible that Ho's first plan, which is much more in the interest of both France and Vietnam, is going to be taken up again rather than the partition plan. This would mean independence for Vietnam even under a Communist-dominated coalition. As one of the French commanders in Indo-China told me recently: "Ho has used and will use anybody to achieve real independence—the Russians, the Chinese, the Americans, even us French."

This would also mean lasting peace. And also quite a change in relations between the West and China, probably China's admittance to the United Nations, the end of Chiang Kai-shek and of the China lobby, and a bad defeat for Senator Knowland and some others. For this would certainly bring about favorable changes in Europe, the cold war would become colder and people who make a living by it such as a certain Senator from Wisconsin would have to change their line of business. Well, everybody can't be happy.

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AGGRESSION IS THE WORD

The Guatemala Crisis . . . *by J. Alvarez del Vayo*

United Nations

THE unwarranted attack against a small country whose only crime has been to challenge, on behalf of its own national sovereignty, the sovereignty of a foreign private company and to run its internal affairs to suit itself, came near producing two victims—Guatemala and the United Nations. Until its final half hour the emergency meeting of the Security Council, held last Sunday on the urgent request of Guillermo Toriello, Guatemalan Foreign Minister, was a painful exhibition of double-talk and evasion.

Guatemala had laid before the Council a charge of aggression, citing acts which had taken place in the previous few days and the events leading up to them. But the American representative, Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., rejected the complaint on the ground, voiced earlier by the State Department, that the disturbance in Guatemala was simply an internal revolt, not an aggression. He was supported by the two Latin American members, Brazil and Colombia, who one day soon will have to justify their behavior before Latin American public opinion. Although they did not go so far as to accept the Lodge thesis, their resolution proposing to leave the issue to be dealt with by the Organization of American States served his purpose just as well. Besides allowing time for the plot against Guatemala to develop, it would effectively have blanketed the charge of aggression.

But the Guatemalan Permanent Delegate, Dr. Castillo-Arriola, an able lawyer, convincingly argued, in his second speech of the afternoon, that it is the Security Council and not any regional organization which has the obligation under the Charter to act when aggression has been charged. Earlier he had offered abundant evidence that the attack had been launched from outside, with opposition politicians who had fled Guatemala, mercenaries, and other nationals of neighboring countries jointly participating in a plot against Guatemala and its legally elected government.

When, after some four hours of discussion, the Brazil-Colombia resolution was killed by the Soviet veto, the session was saved from total failure by an opportune intervention on the part of Ambassador Hoppenot. The French representative introduced a resolution, which was adopted unanimously, calling for an immediate end of actions that might lead to further bloodshed, and urging all nations to abstain in the spirit of the Charter from lending aid to such actions. Since this was the most Guatemala could possibly hope to win, Dr. Castillo-Arriola promptly notified his government of the resolution and reported back to the Council that Guatemala was sure the recommendations contained in the Hoppenot resolution would be observed by all members of the United Nations. The Soviet representative, Mr. Tsarapkin, also stressed the importance of the resolution, interpreting it in anti-interventionist terms obviously aimed at the United States.

It was significant that many people during and after the meeting came up to me to ask: Does this remind you of Spain and the League? Certainly it did; except that in Spain the people were fighting in the streets against the Fascist-sponsored rebels long before their case was submitted to the League of Nations. It is to be hoped the Guatemalan people will resist with equal determination and not count on the sort of international support that was so swiftly mobilized in the case of South Korea.

President Arbenz

But aside from what may happen in the days ahead—and as Dr. Castillo-Arriola warned, one thing that could happen is the spread of the fighting to nearby states—it is important to keep constantly in mind the background and meaning of the entire affair.

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER'S June 16 statement to the press, in which he described the situation in Guatemala as belonging to a pattern which "we had looked at with great displeasure in more than one country," seemed to indicate that the "roll-back" policy, which so far had not been possible to apply in Eastern Europe, was due for a trial closer to home. A surprisingly large number of public figures, including some outstanding liberal journalists, have been supporting a "get tough" policy with Guatemala, advising measures which range from total blockade to encouragement of a military coup against the Arbenz government.

In fact a partial blockade against the little country is already in effect and has led to at least one international incident which left a bad taste in the mouths of many Europeans. The sixteen cases of ammunition shipped by a Swiss firm to Guatemala and confiscated at Hamburg by the United States proved to contain practice shells which a Swiss government spokesman declared to be "absolutely useless for war." Swiss authorities, traditionally scrupulous in their adherence both to their own strict laws and to international regulations regarding the arms trade, were shocked by the American action. Even some of the usually pro-American newspapers of West Germany showed no great enthusiasm for the Hamburg incident.

Last week the United States, seeking

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a total arms embargo against Guatemala, announced it had asked friendly nations for the right to search and seize all Allied ships suspected of violating the ban. The first reaction came from the British press and public and was a violent one. Said one London newspaper: "We cannot permit Mr. Dulles to turn the Caribbean into his own private sea." Undoubtedly many Britishers felt it particularly odd that such a request should come from a country which had fought more than one war to defend the principle of the freedom of the seas. Other Western countries have indicated that they will not accede to the American request.

SOME Washington circles openly suggested that a coup by the Guatemalan army would achieve the desired results quicker than an embargo. The key to the success or failure of the present invasion undoubtedly lies in the continued loyalty of the military to Arbenz.

Meanwhile the outside world had been fed a series of "news leaks" indicating that the Arbenz regime had taken recourse to acts of terror and brutal repression in order to stay in office. Secretary Dulles echoed the reports in telling newsmen in Washington recently that only the "Communist type of terrorism" stood in the way of a thorough anti-Communist house-cleaning by the Guatemalan people—read more correctly, the army. But within forty-eight hours Guatemala exiles in Mexico, who had originated most of the reports, were admitting that they had been "grossly exaggerated." In other words the stories were as empty as the Swiss practice shells. On the contrary, the government gave safe-conduct papers to a large number of opponents who wanted to quit the country.

President Arbenz, according to his friends, had been much encouraged by the support tendered him by many leading Latin Americans, foremost among them Lázaro Cardenas, former President of Mexico. Since his retirement Cardenas has rarely spoken out on any issue, domestic or international, a fact which gave his public statement in behalf of Arbenz immense weight. Former President Arévalo of Guatemala also came out in Arbenz's support during an interview at Buenos Aires which got little space in the United States press. Said Arévalo with humor: "There is not a single Russian in my country today, but there are 25,000 Americans. Perhaps it would be advisable to look among them for secret and dangerous Communists." Parliamentarians and other outstanding Latin Americans will be meeting shortly in Santiago to discuss the Guatemalan situation.

Originally the United States had hoped to obtain collective action against Guatemala through a conference of foreign ministers to be held at Montevideo. But perhaps the growing pro-Guatemala feeling in Latin American made this plan seem less advisable, particularly in view of Uruguay's tradition of strong democratic liberalism. The talk now is of a special session of the Organization of American States to be held at Washington. But wherever the meeting takes place, and whatever its form, the central issue will be intervention versus non-intervention as it was at Caracas. Isidro Fabela, a noted Mexican expert on international law and a former member of the International Court of Justice at the Hague, has written an analysis of the Caracas meeting for *Cuadernos Americanos,* one of Latin America's most distinguished periodicals. Fabela is convinced that the Caracas "anti-Communist" resolution violated basic principles of national sovereignty. He believes further that any action taken against Guatemala on the basis of the resolution would be an even graver violation.

Fabela calls the Caracas meeting "basically a continental anti-Communist manifestation." Its implications were such, he continues, that the American republics must be watchful lest "under the pretext of anti-communism the achievements of all preceding inter-American conferences be destroyed." A non-Communist champion of democratic principles and practices, Fabela attacked the United States role at Caracas:

> We do not believe outside interference with Communist activities in the Americas is possible. This is so not because any of the Latin American republics are Communist but because they are sovereign. Such interference would not be compatible with freedom of thought, speech, and association. . . . The act of approving a resolution which would coerce, suppress, or curtail these liberties constitutes an attack against inalienable rights which are contained in the constitutions of the republics of America, beginning with the Constitution of the United States.

Fabela believes that the issue is one of the most important raised in the Western Hemisphere for many years. It goes far beyond Guatemala, "whose government cannot truthfully be called Communist"; it is a matter which affects all the hemisphere republics equally. Paying tribute to President Roosevelt and former Secretary Hull, he compares their sympathetic attitude with that of Secretary Dulles, who literally confronted the Caracas conferees with a "diktat." The Dulles resolution constituted no mere verbal threat against communism, the writer recalls. Its provisions for "the recall of heads of missions, the rupture of diplomatic relations, the partial or total interruption of trade movements by rail, sea, and air" indicate the kind of punishment that would be inflicted upon any country "guilty of communism or maligned as such by the Council of the Organization of American States." Fabela condemns this threat to set a nation "outside the pan-American community . . . ostracized like a leper and exposed to armed intervention" as a manifestation of "international McCarthyism" which must be opposed by all Latin American countries whatever the nature of their governments.

FABELA sees the solution to the problem in the Mexican amendments to the Caracas resolution which would have preserved the principle of non-intervention. Under Dulles's leadership the conference defeated the amendments, but there is no doubt that they received widespread moral support among the other delegations. In the opinion of Latin Americans to whom I have been talking, Mexico may again lead in opposing the measures against Guatemala which the United States is planning to propose at the forthcoming inter-American gathering. President Arbenz insists that the issue hinges on a fight between a sovereign nation and a private commercial corporation, the United Fruit Company, backed by Washington. But it is on the issue of non-intervention, a principle hailed by all hemisphere conferences preceding Caracas as the only real foundation for "inter-American cooperation and solidarity," that the coming verbal battle will be fought. The sad truth is that the real battle now being waged on Guatemalan soil involves precisely the same issue.

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OUR PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Are They Failing? . . *by James C. Bay*

FOR many years I was employed as a superintendent of public schools. We prepared students for college and sent our graduates to Harvard, Yale, Princeton, Lafayette, Lehigh, Oberlin, Swarthmore, Wellesley, Vassar, Barnard, Smith, Holyoke, Bryn Mawr, Cornell, M. I. T., and many other institutions of higher learning. We trained young women for clerical positions and young men for trades. And a miscellaneous body of students, not endowed with capacities or committed by choice to classification in one of our three main categories—college prep., commercial, trade—we served with programs suited, presumably, to their individual needs.

Were the standards of accomplishment the same for these differentiated groups? Not at all. When we outfitted our football players, we provided shoes to fit the feet of the boy. And we made corresponding adaptations in the requirements of our classrooms.

An example will make the matter clear. In the final half-year before graduation it was the custom of one of our teachers of English to require her students in the general or non-specialized course to write in class a short composition on the topic "What I Can Show This Community for the Years I Have Spent in School." This is the one she got from a young man whose diploma I signed—not a letter, word, or mark of punctuation changed.

I think I can show this Community a few things by what I have obtained in the past three years of High School. Our school system of today offers many things that helps the Community. It hase given me a few things, that I could show the Community for instance It has lerned me to take it, to be honest, it has lerned me things about our government, and there are not a few but many men who could have used some of the schooling that we deceive today, and I could also show the Community a few other things because of our improved teaching, and there is one thing I think I can show this Community, and it would be a help to because there are many people lacking this one thing, and that is the proper use of the English Langueage.

"Retreat from learning!" cries Dr. Bestor in his book* "Educational Wastelands"; "isn't there some way we can counteract this ruinous business?" Well, the question is being asked and it is being answered—pragmatically, if I may use the word. Who is supporting the practice? Who is being benefited? Who is being harmed? These are fair and pertinent questions.

THE practice is being supported by the slow-learning youth who want to be in high school, with study programs and achievement standards adapted to their abilities and needs. Their notion of equality of opportunity gives them a strong conviction that what the community spends to provide suitable education for others, is also their just due. Are they profited by their school attendance? They feel and think that they are, else they would not be there. And who shall gainsay their evaluations? Where is the locus of values anyway, if not in human experience?

The teachers, do they support the practice? Some do, others do not. But enough of them do to make the experiment interesting and often successful. Slow-learners are trained by sympathetic teachers of lower grades in the art of "getting by" in the high-school classes of sturdy preservers of academic standards. "Keep your mouth closed and be polite" is the usual admonition. And it works. Teachers are too busy with their all but overwhelming duties to search out the weaknesses of the ungifted, and they are increasingly recognizing the injustice of punishing them for their deficiencies. What did the teacher think of the boy and his composition—"It has lerned me to take it, to be honest, it has lerned me things about our government"? She thought it funny, in a way, but on reflection she felt it to be deeply pathetic. She was his friend. And, after all, everybody respected him. He was not the poorest scholar in his class of a few less than 400—there were 50 ranking below him.

The community, too, has a stake and a voice and a vote in deciding to whom the benefits of a public high school shall be made available. And they are overwhelmingly on the side of the boy. By his presence no student is disadvantaged. He is not enrolled in any college-preparatory class. He may be elected to a class office, where his interest in non-academic matters counts for much. So his classmates, and through them their parents, esteem him a worthy school citizen, deserving in every way of the equal opportunities of a full public-school education.

THE foregoing epitome of today's public high school is not, of course, exactly representative—there is no typical high school—but it is one of a kind that critics have fallen upon with verbal fury. I shall not attempt further to defend it, but I shall claim the privilege of examining the witnesses who have voluntarily and publicly brought charges against it. There are four who have received popular notice in recent months —Paul Woodring, Robert Maynard Hutchins, Albert Lynd, and Arthur E. Bestor; and they are the ones whose adverse testimony I shall proceed to subject to scrutiny.

In the beginning we may observe that basically the issues pertain to philosophy. So we shall have to touch upon that area of thought. For our critics have used the bogy of philosophy to scare their readers into an apprehension of vague danger. Particularly, three of the four have located in the thought of John Dewey the corruptive doctrine that

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*Educational Wastelands: The Retreat From Learning in Our Public Schools, by Arthur E. Bestor. (University of Illinois Press, 1953).

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allegedly has spread through our public schools.

Mr. Woodring promises to explain it. In the preface to his book "Let's Talk Sense About Our Schools" (McGraw-Hill, 1953), he says, "It is for those who, knowing that the school of today has been influenced by the philosophy of John Dewey, wish to understand Dewey but not to worship him." But he gets off to a bad start. "Dewey's lengthening shadow did not become fully apparent," writes Mr. Woodring, "until he moved, in 1904, to Teachers College of Columbia University, a college which, during his years as a faculty member, became the mecca of the teachers of teachers."

The statement is in error: John Dewey was professor of philosophy in Columbia University. Teachers College was and is an affiliated institution, having its own faculty and board of trustees. And the Teachers College students who went to Philosophy Hall for courses with John Dewey were relatively few. I was there.

WE would not exaggerate the importance of a mere error of fact, however, when our main purpose is to note what Mr. Woodring presents to those who "wish to understand Dewey." In fulfilment of his promise we expect him to reward us with a simplified restatement, a clarification, of Deweyan educational doctrine. What we learn, instead, is something about Mr. Woodring. For example, he gives us this: "Dewey's essential originality lies in his epistemology, his interpretation of the nature of knowing and the meaning of truth; and this aspect of Dewey's teaching is incredibly difficult for most of us to comprehend."

It need not tax our understanding unduly, however, if we recognize it as the scientific method, which it is. Dewey meant exactly what every scientist means when he speaks as scientist. Einstein's mathematical statement, $mc^2=E$, became knowledge when it was validated in the actual transformation of matter into energy. Dewey simply chose to use the term with that specific meaning.

Continuing his endeavor to help those "who wish to understand Dewey," Mr. Woodring writes, "Dewey never stated his definition of instrumentalism in a way that would be easily understandable to the average man. He probably considered it impossible to make such a statement." In that pronouncement Mr. Woodring reveals his intellectual kinship with the student who sought a "definition of instrumentalism" from the professor himself.

The situation was John Dewey's office in Philosophy Hall. It was registration time. A student entered and addressed the approachable and unassuming philosopher. "Dr. Dewey, I'm considering taking your course in pragmatism, but I'm not sure it's what I want. Would you mind telling me what pragmatism is?"

"I wish I could do that, sir," replied the genial Dr. Dewey, "but it would take entirely too long a time. Indeed, I shall consider that we have done well if, having taken the course, you have the answer to your question at its conclusion."

Imagine, without laughing if you can, what Sir Isaac Newton would have thought if a student with no algebra or geometry of any kind had asked him, "What is the calculus?" For the best of reasons, obviously, he never explained his powerful "instrument" of computation in a way to make it "easily understandable to the average man."

So it is with Dewey's instrumentalism. A year's study of biology, including organic evolution, is preliminary. This leads into a functional psychology in which thought is an "instrument" employed in the reorganization of experience. That is the logical aspect of Deweyism.

But the teachers in our public schools have never heard of it. And those instructing in what were once known as progressive schools have discreetly submerged it in the pedagogical unconscious, in the fifteen years since it was publicly renounced and denounced at Teachers College of Columbia University. It's as dead as Henry Wallace's progressivism.

What are we to conclude, then, concerning the educational theory of John Dewey, which appears to be troublesome to Mr. Woodring? Perhaps it would be most helpful to the reader, as well as most respectful to Dr. Dewey, if he were permitted to speak for himself. So we present one of his central statements:

> Any mind is disciplined in a subject in which independent initiative and control have been achieved. Discipline represents original native endowment turned, through gradual exercise, into effective power. So far as a mind is disciplined, control of method in a given subject has been attained so that the mind is able to manage itself independently of external tutelage. The aim of education is precisely to develop intelligence of this independent and effective type—a disciplined mind.—*"How We Think," p. 63.*

John Dewey

WHAT I wish to say next has already been prejudged by Mr. Woodring. He avers that we are no match for his fellow critics: "When educational practices are criticized by those possessing some knowledge of philosophy—by Robert Maynard Hutchins, by Mortimer Smith, by Bernard Iddings Bell—the teachers are unable to defend themselves intelligently." Even so, I feel constrained to make reply to Mr. Hutchins.

In "The Conflict in Education in a Democratic Society" (Harper 1953), writing avowedly as a philosopher, he says:

> This book deals with the philosophy of education. I hope to show that the philosophy of education, by which I mean a reasoned and coherent statement of its aims and possibilities, is a secondary subject, dependent on our conception of man and society, that is, upon our philosophy in general.

Immediately we are alerted to the significance that will be given to the phrase "our conception of man and society," for we have become accustomed to think of psychology and sociology as well-established divisions of learning that have an essential bearing upon the theory and the practice of education. But Mr. Hutchins does not oblige us with any contribution from those areas of modern scholarship. It may be, however,

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that Mr. Hutchins would claim that he is speaking sociologically in a declaration such as this:

> I deplore the multiplication of trivial courses, in cosmetology, fishing, and tap-dancing, which swell the catalogues of great universities and which have no purpose except to help the student while away four years without using his mind.

But our main concern here is not that psychology and sociology are ignored. We are primarily interested in Mr. Hutchins's indictment of the philosophy of John Dewey. Let us listen to him as he lays down the theme of the first chapter of his book.

> In America the doctrine of adjustment is perhaps the leading theory. Here it results from a misconception of John Dewey. Since he is not a clear writer, his followers may perhaps be excused for their failure to notice that when he talked about adjustment to the environment, he meant that the environment should first be improved. Dewey was essentially a social reformer, and it is tragic that he should have laid the foundation for the proposition that the aim of education is to adjust the young to their environment, good or bad.

The astounding conclusion that must be drawn from a reading of that paragraph is that Mr. Hutchins is criticizing a philosophy he has not read. The aim of education, according to Dewey, is "a disciplined mind." There is nothing unclear about that. And adjustment, effected through intelligence, between an individual *and* his environment is something quite different, in Dewey's thought, from adjustment *to* the environment.

Let us look at what John Dewey actually wrote:

> Education is not infrequently defined as consisting in the acquisition of those habits that effect an adjustment of an individual and his environment. The definition expresses an essential phase of growth. But it is essential that adjustment be understood in its active sense of *control* of means for achieving ends. If we think of habit simply as a change wrought in the organism, ignoring the fact that this change consists in ability to effect subsequent changes in the environment, we shall be led to think of "adjustment" as a conformity to environment as wax conforms to the seal which impresses it. . . . Adaptation, in fine, is quite as much adaptation *of* the environment to our own activities as of our activities *to* the environment.—*"Democracy and Education."*

Continuity, mutuality, interaction—these are the Deweyan conceptions employed in discussing the reciprocal relationships between the individual and the environment in the educative process.

ALBERT LYND ("Quackery in the Public Schools," Little, Brown, 1953) and Arthur Bestor offer much the same complaint—the public schools, both in theory and in practice, are under the control of charlatanic pedagogues. Lynd taught history at Harvard before entering the field of business; Bestor is now occupying a chair of history in a state university of the Middle West. What they both want in the public schools is a curriculum of subject matters, taught to be learned, and retaught until they have been learned by all pupils. As a proposal to be earnestly advocated that position is of course fair enough.

What is not so fair is Mr. Lynd's method of inferring general incompetence by selective citation of loose thinking and poor writing by "neo-pedagogues." The subject is deserving of serious treatment, being quite unsuited to journalistic cleverness. When he addresses himself to the writings of John Dewey, he ignores fundamental educational treatises, while he pounces upon other Deweyan disquisitions, restated in principle, which lie wholly outside the purview of public education. He even raises the question of how the community would vote on certain philosophic issues.

Well, how would they vote? Take, for example, the providential interpretation of history. The Hebraic scriptures teach it. Tennyson believed in it:

> I doubt not thro' the ages one increasing purpose runs,
> And the thoughts of men are widened with the process of the suns.

At what position would Professor Bestor be found? He probably teaches the economic interpretation, with proper limitation and due caution; probably the bold-leader theory when considering Hitler's Germany and Mussolini's Italy. He might even find a figure in contemporary America to make the concept clear to students who have come to him through the coarse-meshed sieve of the Illinois high schools. But would he find any purpose in history, save the purposes of men? How would he vote?

The very notion of a popular vote to establish an official philosophy for the public schools of a democracy is a palpable absurdity. Democracy itself, with its humanistic connotations, is our political philosophy. Hence the public schools should provide equality of opportunity for all children and youth.

It is at this point that the cardinal weakness of Dr. Bestor's crusading charges against the broadened curriculum of today's public high schools comes into the focus of attention. About 40 per cent of America's high-school graduates are now entering colleges and universities, ill-prepared to do so according to Dr. Bestor. But he fails to note a salient fact that must be taken into account in any just appraisal of our public secondary schools.

Consistently, the candidates prepared in the public high schools do as well on the tests of the College Entrance Examination Board as those who have had their preparation in independent schools. The facts may be found in the statistical tables of College Board Scores, No. 1, published by the CEEB. "The differences in mean scores between the two groups are negligible," (CBS, No. 1, p. 21).

Hereafter, let no man say that the free public high schools of America are less efficient than independent schools in developing the skills and inculcating the knowledge requisite for success in college. The evidence is conclusive.

THE question still remains—and it is an important one: what provisions and adaptations shall be made in the study programs, the activities, and the marking standards of the public schools for the youth who are not in preparation for college, or clerical work, or a skilled trade? Dr. Bestor's answer is a wild-swinging attack upon the Illinois Secondary-School Curriculum Program, which is, I suppose, the most notable systematic attempt that has been made in any state to adapt high-school services to the life-needs of all youth. He bitterly deprecates the "retreat from learning" that has become, in his opinion, an alarming movement along the entire public-high-school front.

My own opinion, quite contrary to Dr. Bestor's, is that in the educational domicile of democracy there are many mansions.

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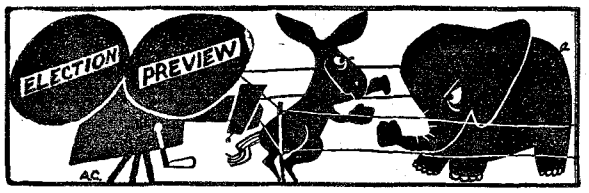

RICH MAN'S RACE

by Otis Sullivant

Oklahoma City

HUGE campaign expenditures are characteristic of senatorial and gubernatorial contests in Oklahoma, but the current race for the Democratic nomination for Senator is something special. The chief rivals are the incumbent, Senator Robert S. Kerr, and former Governor Roy J. Turner, both of whom are multimillionaire oil men with plenty of millionaire friends. Oklahomans are saying that the campaign is "better than the cotton crop," which is something of an exaggeration but still conveys the idea. Newsmen never get to see the books—if any are kept—but it probably costs somewhere from $150,000 to $400,000 to become Governor or Senator. This is in the face of a state law, outmoded and ineffective, which limits the expenditures of a candidate to $3,000 in the regular primary and the same amount in the run-off. The money is not used to buy votes or the support of political machines but for advertising in newspapers, on billboards, and by radio and television in the seventy-seven counties of the state.

The contest between Kerr and Turner will be decided on personalities instead of issues. Each is stressing an appeal to agriculture, the basic industry in the state. Turner is more conservative than Kerr, but both are for price supports. Turner is motivated by a dogged determination to beat Kerr. The rivalry between the two men in the oil business dates back to the development of the Oklahoma City oil field in the late 1920's when each of them laid the foundations of a fortune. Their political rivalry came to a head when Turner sought the Democratic nomination for Governor in 1946 and Kerr, the retiring Governor, supported another candidate in the first primary.

In February, 1953, at a state meeting of cattlemen called by Governor Johnston Murray to consider remedies for the dire effects of drought and falling prices, Senator Kerr came out for price supports of 90 to 100 per cent of parity on all grades of cattle. Turner, who breeds fine Hereford cattle on a 10,000-acre ranch, took the position that it would be impossible to establish parity support prices for the many grades of cattle and that the attempt would lead to government control of cattle production. He wanted the government to put a floor on cattle prices by a program of beef-purchasing through regular channels that would guarantee a minimum of 12 cents a pound on the hoof for the lower grades, such as the canner and cutter types. Such a program, he said, would stabilize the market and assure farmers and ranchers a fair price for their drought-stricken cattle. Turner claimed that Kerr was playing for the votes of ranchers and cattlemen, and his determination to run against Kerr was stiffened by this dispute.

The contest will be decided in the July 6 primary unless enough votes are cast for the six minor candidates to prevent either of the major candidates from receiving the required majority. In that case a run-off primary will be held on July 27.

AS Governor and Senator, Kerr has adhered to the Roosevelt New Deal and the Truman Fair Deal. His strength is in the rural counties. He will be aided by a light vote and tightening economic conditions. Turner is expected to carry Tulsa and Oklahoma City. Turner will get far more Republican votes in the Democratic primary than Kerr. It is estimated that 150,000 Republicans vote in the Democratic primary, where the total vote ranges from 450,000 to nearly 600,000, in order to have a voice in the selection of local officials. Oklahoma is essentially a one-party state.

Kerr is an able speaker and an experienced toastmaster—without equal in the state on the stump. He will excel on radio and television. He is a good handshaker, can affect humility, and has been as busy as a beaver for more than a year rebuilding his political fences. Turner is a poor speaker, but his words have a ring of sincerity that appeals to voters. He is more popular personally than the incumbent Senator.

Kerr's program is close to that of the Oklahoma Farmers' Union, while Turner's is more in tune with the conservative Oklahoma Farm Bureau. Kerr has more support from blocs and groups—Negroes, the school bloc, the drys. He is a personal and political dry, while Turner drew the enmity of united drys by submitting repeal of prohibition to vote of the people in 1949; repeal was defeated by a big majority. Kerr is a leading Baptist layman. Turner is a Methodist and makes less effort to capture the so-called church vote. Organized labor generally favors Kerr.

THE Tulsa newspapers have long been opposed to Kerr. Turner will receive aid in that quarter. The Oklahoma City newspapers were friendly to Kerr when he was Governor but have been very critical of his position on national issues. They are not taking sides in the Kerr-Turner race. Some country newspapers are backing Kerr; some, Turner.

Both candidates are staunch advocates of the depletion clause in calculating income tax on minerals, a provision vital to oil companies exploring and developing new fields. Both men have support from the oil industry. Kerr is closely associated with the Phillips Petroleum Company, and with K. S. Adams, chairman of its board of directors. He is chairman of the board of directors of Kerr-McGee Oil Industries, a $50,000,000 company with drilling, production, and refining operations in fourteen states, Alaska, the Far East, Cuba, and the offshore waters of the Gulf of Mexico. He is also on the board of directors of the Republic Supply Company, which deals in oil-field equipment. Turner and his partner, F. E. Harper, own the Harper-Turner Oil Company, a $10,-

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000,000 concern. Kerr argues that his experience in the Senate will make him more effective than Turner could be in combating the growing effort to reduce or eliminate the tax allowance for depletion.

Kerr has said that he will not mention Turner in this campaign. Turner opened with cracks about the Senator's absenteeism and desire for personal glory. He said Kerr was ninety-fifth in attendance in the Senate in the 1953 session, only the late Senator Taft, who was ill, being absent more.

The toll-road issue is damaging Turner in rural counties. The Oklahoma City–Tulsa toll road was started under his administration and is named the Turner turnpike. Three more toll roads were authorized by the last legislature and approved in a referendum vote of the people last January, but forty-three of the seventy-seven counties returned majorities against the bill, which was carried by the vote of Oklahoma City and Tulsa. The opposition is bitter in towns which fear the new roads will bypass them. Kerr workers are exploiting this opposition and calling Turner the "daddy of the toll roads." The Kerr forces are also trying to pin the Republican tag on Turner. Anonymous cartoons have appeared picturing Turner in bed with Secretary of Agriculture Benson. One drawing, titled The Turner-Benson Plan, shows a calf near an oil well and a disgusted cattleman observing, "We could get along if we had an oil well for each cow to nurse."

In the jargon of the politicians, a large section of the people are "mad at Kerr and don't know why." A feeling persists that Kerr was swimming beyond his depth in being the first to sound off in the Senate against General MacArthur. At the Democratic National Convention in 1952 Kerr was supported for the Presidency by the Oklahoma delegation, but the poor showing he made was a blow to his prestige, certainly for the time being.

Kerr was elected Governor in 1942 as an exponent of the New Deal and is credited with a good businesslike administration. He won national recognition as keynoter of the Democratic convention of 1944. He retired as Governor in January, 1947, and was succeeded by Turner. In 1948 he was nominated and elected Senator without difficulty. Kerr privately backed Senator Elmer Thomas in the 1950 Democratic race in which Mike Monroney, then a Representative, defeated Thomas. Turner, then Governor, stayed out of the race, but some of his advisers helped Monroney. Monroney has let it be known he will take no part in the Kerr-Turner contest, but his heart will be with Turner, and some of his close associates will quietly help Turner.

Turner was a popular Governor, and retired from office in January, 1951, without political scars and apparently without political ambitions. Probably if some other strong candidate had decided to run against Kerr, he would not be a candidate.

TAX AID FOR WHOM?

The "Big Deal" Tax Bill . . *by Joseph H. Crown*

A DECADE ago—on February 22, 1944—F. D. R. wrote: "I return herewith, without my approval, H. R. 3687 . . . it is not a tax bill but a tax-relief bill providing relief not for the needy but for the greedy." Thus did he veto the 1943 tax bill—the first veto of a tax measure in American history.

Today the veto again hovers over a tax bill. If Congress, despite the Commander-in-Chief's admonition, revolts—shades of yet another Keynes mutiny—and raises the banner of Higher Personal Exemptions, stout measures may be invoked, perhaps a veto. A tax bill *providing relief for the needy* must not pass!

Roosevelt lamented that the relief granted in the 1943 tax bill "would cost the Treasury at least $150,000,000." Pickwickian, by Republican standards. The relief provisions in the 1954 tax bill will cost the Treasury $1,500,000,000 in the fiscal year ending June 30, 1955, and, when fully operative, the loss may run between $3,500,000,000 and $4,000,000,000 annually, according to the Democratic members of the House Ways and Means Committee.

Roosevelt denounced the 1943 bill as "replete with provisions which not only afford indefensible special privileges to favored groups but set dangerous precedents for the future." The 1954 tax bill is literally chock-full of tax bonanzas, dwarfing those in the 1943 bill.

President Eisenhower would do well to ponder this passage in Roosevelt's veto message: "It has been suggested by some that I should give my approval to this bill on the ground that having asked the Congress for a loaf of bread . . . I should be content with a small piece of crust. I might have done so if I had not noted that the small piece of crust contained so many extraneous and inedible materials." Now, it is true that the Republicans did scatter some bits of crust for Mr. Low-incomer—witness the child-care deduction for working wives, widows, and widowers, the interest allowance for instalment purchases. But these crumbs are calculated to make the entire bill of fare—with its Brobdignagian dishes for Mr. High-incomer—more palatable for public consumption.

Dividend Exemption. This provision has, alas, been woefully misunderstood. In its first year of operation the first $50 of dividends is tax-free, and 5 per cent of the remaining dividends is allowed as a credit against the tax. In the second and subsequent years the first $100 of dividends is tax-free, and 10 per cent

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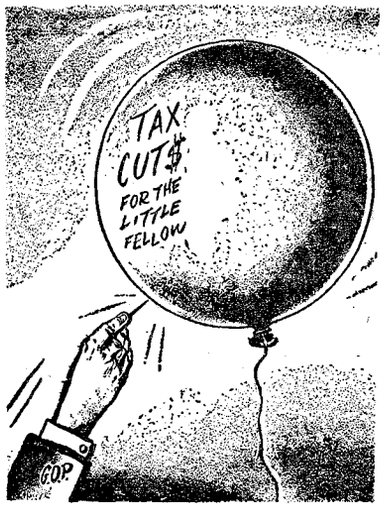
of the remaining dividends is allowed as a credit. Thus if a $1,000 dividend is received in September, 1955, $100 would be entirely tax-exempt and a $90 credit (10 per cent of $900) would be allowed against the individual's tax.

In an effort to establish that the dividend exemption benefits the "average citizen," the President pointed out that 56 per cent of United States Steel's stockholders were drawing less than $5,000 a year, and that more Steel stockholders were in the $2,000-$3,000 income bracket than in any other. These statistics were seemingly based upon an incomplete survey which failed to cover institutional and trustee stockholders. But incompleteness aside, and apart from the atypical character of Steel, the President's argument is extremely vulnerable. The decisive question is: Which income group receives the bulk of dividends and hence benefits most from the dividend-relief provision? The Treasury's publication, *Statistics of Income for 1950,* reveals that over 80 per cent of all *taxpayers* have incomes below $5,000 a year. This 80 per cent received less than 11 per cent of all dividend income. Persons with income above $10,000 received, in 1950, almost 75 per cent of all dividend income. This income group accounts for less than 4 per cent of all taxpayers. Persons with incomes above $25,000 received more than 50 per cent of all dividend income and accounted for only eight-tenths of 1 per cent of all taxpayers.

THE Treasury's statistics reveal, therefore, that the bulk of the dividend income goes to the higher income taxpayers—and it is these taxpayers who will benefit most from the dividend-relief provision. The average taxpayer has little or no dividend income and will benefit little or nothing from the provision. The President's statistics do not negate the fact that one multimillionaire owning $1,000,000 of Steel stock will derive greater tax benefit than 1,000 stockholders in the under-$5,000 bracket each owning $100 of the stock. The Republicans seem addicted to the numbers game—in taxes as in "subversives," as Stevenson has suggested.

Lest any voter misconstrue Republican motivation, the President explained that the real purpose of the dividend-relief provision was to encourage those who



Walt Partymiller in the York (Pa.) *Gazette and Daily*

Remember November!

"want to make investments to help meet the expenses of a growing family or to meet the requirements of old age." It was a little unclear how the 92 families out of every 100 now owning no stock and experiencing difficulty in making both ends meet would get the greenbacks to buy the stock that pays the dividend that gets the tax relief that helps meet the expenses of a growing family.

While the dividend tax cut is political dynamite for the Republicans, its authors have handled it adroitly. The $50-$100 exclusion eliminates *entirely* the tax on small amounts of dividend income. The percentage reduction of tax is greatest in the lowest bracket and declines progressively as the income level rises. The Republicans are here bidding for the support of the low-income investor.

Republican self-restraint in this area will pay rich dividends. For once the principle of tax relief for dividends is accepted, percentages can be upped. In fact, Chairman Reed of the House Ways and Means Committee, in announcing the committee's decision, remarked that the committee "approved two new provisions which take the *first step toward the elimination* of double taxation of corporate dividends." The Democratic minority commented that the "complete elimination of tax on dividends in the hands of shareholders would cost around $3,400,000,000 in revenues." The present proposal will cut revenues $814,000,000 in a full year of operation.

Here one cannot but wonder at the wizardry of Republican mathematics. By some magic formula—not too clearly explained by Martin, Barton, or Reed—the hundreds of millions lost by the dividend tax cut will not affect the government's budget, while the Democratic proposal for higher personal exemptions cannot be tolerated because revenue losses there do affect adversely the budget. Even Einstein's equations shed no light on this bizarre phenomenon.

Depreciation Deduction. Under existing law a machine costing $1,000 with a twenty-year life can be depreciated, for tax purposes, one-twentieth of its cost, less its salvage value, each year; so that the depreciation deduction is approximately $50 annually. The 1954 tax bill would authorize the depreciation of new facilities at twice the ordinary rate, applied to the unrecovered cost. Under this "double-rate declining-balance method" a machine costing $1,000 with a twenty-year life would be depreciated at a 10 per cent rate each year—instead of 5 per cent—and each year the rate could be applied to the unrecovered balance. Under the proposed method the depreciation deduction would be $100 the first year, $90 the second year, $81 the third year, declining to $43.05 the ninth year and to $13.51 the twentieth year.

It will be seen, therefore, that the effect of this method would be to increase the annual deduction for depreciation of an asset in the early years and decrease those in later years. Since new equipment will be installed year after year (in the economy as a whole), it will be many, many years before the annual depreciation under the double-rate declining-balance method will be at a level comparable to that under present law. During this period, calculated to be approximately eighteen years, the Treasury will continue to sustain a revenue loss. The Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation has estimated that the *irretrievable* revenue loss will aggregate the colossal sum of $19,000,000,000.

The argument has been advanced that more favorable depreciation will encourage capital investment and thereby increase the productive capacity and prosperity of the nation. Unquestionably there is some validity to that argument. But it must be noted that the basic rules on computation of the depreciation allowances have already been liberalized by the Treasury. And as Adlai Steven-

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son observed at Charlotte, "You can have all the productive capacity in the world; but it doesn't seem to help business if business doesn't have buyers. The best business stimulant at a time like this is customers walking in the front door with money in their pants."

Moreover, it is questionable whether present methods of depreciation have noticeably held back expansion. In 1946, when corporate tax rates were 38 per cent, $15,000,000,000 was invested in business, plant, and equipment. In 1953, with a corporate rate of 52 per cent and an excess-profits tax rate of 30 per cent, $28,000,000,000 was invested, almost twice as much.

Pension Plans. Under existing law, pension and profit-sharing trusts qualify for preferential tax treatment (deductions of contributions by employers; postponement of tax to employees until pensions or distributions are received) if they meet certain tests. In the 1942 Revenue Act safeguards were deliberately provided—a major New Deal reform—to make sure that such plans did not discriminate in favor of high-paid employees, officials, and shareholders of corporations; plans had to provide benefits to 70 per cent or more of a corporation's employees. The "liberalized" provisions in the 1954 bill would permit plans to qualify even though very few employees were covered—opening the door to rank discrimination. Thus if a company had sixty employees and twenty had been employed less than five years, a plan could qualify even though it covered only ten employees, whether shareholders, officers, or key employees. If a family corporation had only four employees, the plan would qualify by just covering the principals—husband and wife—since this would be 50 per cent of the employees.

Life Insurance. Another major New Deal reform embodied in the 1942 Revenue Act provided that if a husband transfers ownership of an insurance policy on his life to his wife or other beneficiary but continues to pay the premiums himself, the proceeds upon death are still taxable as part of his estate. This "premium payment" test was a realistic recognition of the testamentary character of life insurance. It also closed a long-standing avenue of tax escape. To allow a reasonable amount of insurance to be estate-tax-free, the estate-tax exemption was increased from $40,000 to $60,000.

The 1954 tax bill eliminates the "premium payment" test. To avoid the estate tax, the insured need only assign the policy to his wife or other beneficiary. Since estates under $60,000 are nontaxable, only those with substantial estates will benefit from this emasculation. Democrats predicted that "life insurance will come into favor among persons of great wealth as a means of avoiding estate taxes."

QUITE apart from the dramatic tax bonanzas, the 1954 tax bill is replete with potential tax reductions for the large corporation and upper-bracket taxpayer. The New Deal tax philosophy with its accent on substance rather than form has been virtually purged. The 1954 Internal Revenue Code offers a Roman holiday to ingenious tax counsel —but the tax festivals are almost exclusively reserved for Mr. High-income and Big Company, Inc. Tax savings for the professional man, the artist, the small partnership are seriously curtailed. The 1954 Revenue Act is Big Deal taxation.

The Republicans seek to rationalize the tax bonanzas to businesses and investors on the theory that their tax "relief" will bring about an expansion in investment in plant and equipment. Secretary Humphrey philosophized: "Production is the goose that lays the golden egg." To which a C. I. O. economist replied: "In the face of the present economic situation confronting the country . . . production will not be the goose that laid the golden egg. Rather, I think Secretary Humphrey's proposals will have laid an egg that will not hatch because it will not be laid in an atmosphere of increased demand for the products of American industry. It will merely be hidden in the savings of wealthy stockholders and corporations for an incubation period that is dangerously long."

AT a time like the present the fair tax policy and the sound tax policy is tax reduction to stimulate purchasing power and consumption. This calls for tax relief—higher personal exemptions —to Mr. and Mrs. Low-income, who must and will spend the dollars saved on living expenses. The Democrats would be well advised to adopt a bold policy on personal exemptions. The proposal of the House Democrats to raise the personal exemption from $600 to $700 is Pickwickian. The conservative Senator George is far more realistic and politically astute in asking for a rise to $800 this year and to $1,000 the next year. Can the Republicans complain that the cost is too high when they hand out a $19,000,000,000 bonanza to corporations?

Eisenhower's radio-TV speech brought him victory in the House by the narrowest of margins—6 votes out of a total of 414 cast. The bill has just been reported out by the Senate Finance Committee. In the New York *Times* of March 21, under the heading "Democrats Can Make Popular Appeal Which Will Be Hard to Answer," John D. Morris commented: "Even if prosperity should continue through November, some believe the President may have cost the G. O. P. the Congressional elections by winning the battle against higher exemptions."

AN interesting article in the April issue of *Fortune* on labor's approach to the 1954 revenue act warned:

> Labor's top legislative priority, eclipsing all other interests, including Taft-Hartley, is the tax bill. Both A. F. of L. and C. I. O. have been fighting the Administration program, principally the dividend-tax reduction. They want to raise the level of personal exemption. . . . The Democrats, led by Senator George and Representative Eberharter, have made increased deductions a party issue. . . . Labor is taking credit for "waking up" the Democrats to the political advantages of the tax issue. In the November elections the charge of a Republican "rich man's" tax bill, and labor's demand for increasing exemptions to $800 and even $1,000 will be the chief ammunition of labor's political arms.

The tax bill may, indeed, be the breakthrough for a Democratic victory next fall. A fair and sound tax policy could rally behind it all who supported the New Deal and Fair Deal and all who favor a Square Deal rather than a Big Deal. Americans should understand that the G. O. P. tax bill, as the National Lawyers' Guild, champion of New Deal legislation, stated: "would go far toward nullifying the basic tax reforms effected during the New Deal."

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BOOKS

"Ifs" and "Howevers" about Russia

TERROR AND PROGRESS USSR. By Barrington Moore, Jr. Harvard University Press. $4.50.

By Mark Gayn

FEW topics offer more room for fascinating speculation than the future course of the Soviet Union. In a series of major tests, the U. S. S. R. has demonstrated its capacity for survival. But has this capacity been affected by the changes in the Kremlin, or by the already visible stresses within Soviet society? How does the rise of a new, vast, and influential class of managers and technicians affect the balance of political power? The changes carried out by Stalin's heirs, from the political amnesty to the new accent on consumer goods, all reflect a profound concern over domestic strains. But how far can such changes be pushed? How far, for instance, can the Kremlin relax its controls over private lives, or produce shoes and washboards at the expense of heavy machinery?

It is to such momentous questions that Barrington Moore, Jr., addresses himself in his thoughtful study of the elements of change, stability, strength, and weakness in the Soviet state. In this "exploratory foray" he deliberately avoids conventional categories. Instead, he chooses to deal with a broad variety of possible situations and their impact on various social groups and individuals. Specifically, he deals with the instruments of political control, with the effects the policy of forced industrialization has had on the individual, with the picture in the countryside, with the intellectual, and with the function and limitations of terror.

Soviet power, Professor Moore argues, rests on the tripod of party apparatus, the agencies of violence (army and secret police), and the major economic ministries, whose influence inevitably expands with the growth of industry. The relations among these elements give rise to strains. A delicate balance must somehow be struck between the politician and the technician, between the general and the policeman, and between the latter two and the party. In the process of adjustment the party politician has undergone a metamorphosis, from agitator to political administrator, and has had to give ground to both the technician and the policeman. But if the politician has had to make concessions to them, they, in turn, have been unable to shake off the party controls.

What of the future? Professor Moore considers three possibilities. The first is the continuation of the "dynamic, totalitarian, and expansionist characteristics of the Stalinist system." He doubts if this can occur now without seriously weakening the social institutions necessary for the functioning of an industrial society. The second possibility is the Red variant of a "managerial revolution." The author doubts that a parliamentary democracy can arise out of Bolshevist soil, but a political system approaching technocracy seems to him more than plausible. Such a process, he believes, would stop somewhere short of its logical culmination.

The last possibility, and apparently the most likely in Professor Moore's opinion, is the victory of "traditionalist elements." In such an eventuality there would still be a central ruler and a vast bureaucratic network, but they would be far less effective than now in controlling the details of daily life. The rapid pace of economic growth would level off. There would be an increase in the authority of local officials, and terror as a major instrument of control would diminish. Apace with these changes would come an increase in personal security and tenure for officialdom. But however likely, even this possibility seems remote to Professor Moore "in a world of highly competitive power politics." In other words, the "traditionalists" could take over only if the cold war came near its end.

If all this sounds highly speculative, it is what the author has intended. He is more interested in following all the avenues of possibility than in guessing at conclusions. The closest he comes to a conclusion, in fact, is in the last paragraph of his work: "If peace should continue for a decade or more, the rationalist or the traditionalist forces in Soviet society, or some unstable combination of the two, may do their work of erosion upon the Soviet totalitarian edifice." For a conclusion, this is singularly inconclusive.

"Terror and Progress" is not easy reading. However intent, many readers are likely to lose the author in the murky labyrinth of speculation. Also, there seem to be important areas of thought where he has not done enough spade work. One of these is the colossal problem presented by the inability of the Soviet countryside to meet industry's demand for food and raw materials. A result of Stalin's overemphasis on industrial expansion at the expense of agriculture, this problem might well prove crucial in the development of Moscow's foreign policy, in its relations with the satellities, in its domestic course, and even in the private lives of the Soviet people. To be fair, Professor Moore does pay considerable attention to the peasant, but the most important feature of the Kremlin's rural policy seems to have been underplayed. One can also, I think, argue with Professor Moore's estimate of the technician's role in post-Stalinist Russia. The Party Presidium, for instance, today includes at least two members whose qualifications are technical rather than political, there are many signs that Stalinist restrictions on scientific thought are being discarded— as they had to be; and, I believe, no author should leave out of his speculation the probable impact of Soviet atomic research and production on the balance of political power in Russia and on the technician's role.

Professor Moore has done a highly useful job, if only by indicating fields in which discussion can be carried on profitably. The territory, however, has already been explored by such scholars as Isaac Deutscher and Merle Fainsod, often with more satisfactory results. What I think Moore has done is to demonstrate that speculation, if hedged excessively with "ifs" and "how-evers," may confuse more than enlighten.

MARK GAYN, author and foreign correspondent, has spent considerable time in Eastern Europe.

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A Liberal Mind

ON EDUCATION AND FREEDOM. By Harold Taylor. Abelard-Schuman. $4.

By Maxwell Geismar

AS PRESIDENT of Sarah Lawrence College, Mr. Taylor is in a good position to comment on the state of American education today, and the picture is depressing. The prevailing moral and political desire is to be "clean"—but how can you be clean and still be alive? If one Communist or Communist "sympathizer" can really corrupt a whole faculty of pure democratic thinkers, what is a college president to do? He is better off dead, intellectually at least; but fortunately, I hasten to add, Mr. Taylor does not belong to this category of defunct liberals. His own book is very much alive.

The chapter called The College President gets at the difference between the great educational figures of the past and the modern type of managerial president whose main purpose is to raise money and cultivate friends. Mr. Taylor himself believes that the purpose of education, like that of democracy, is "to make people free," and he is concerned both with teaching and with teachers. The philosophical basis of his thinking is the pragmatism of William James and John Dewey. "If this is moral confusion, it is the kind we should actively cultivate." He has some fun, incidentally, with the opposite educational theory of the Great Books which Robert Hutchins and his friends "have been good enough to prepare for us," and which Veblen might have described as the "conspicuous culture" of a drifting middle class.

Maybe I am biased about all this, since I taught at Sarah Lawrence and can highly recommend it. I will admit that some chapters in the present book were originally presented as lectures, and the prose has not all been converted to the purposes of literature. Yet the intellectual climate of the last few years has moved backward so rapidly that even when Harold Taylor is stating obvious facts about education and the world today, it is refreshing and heartening to see them in print. "A military program without a positive social ideal is a monster set loose," he says about the current Administration in Washington. "Communism is a word now used in the United States to express anxiety rather than to define social doctrine," he says of the Congressional investigations in our colleges.

Are these phrases so impressive because they are uttered, not by the desperate young writers I see around me, but by an educator who has risked his career by stressing such homely truths? For the common facts of our intellectual history during the last twenty-five years are now equivalent to the lispings of sedition. The chapter on Communism and the American Colleges in Mr. Taylor's book is also the best account of this phenomenon that I have read from a liberal's point of view. By liberal I mean non-Communist. Though it is even better today to be an ex-Communist "than never to have been a Communist at all," as Mr. Taylor wryly observes, it is gratifying to know that such liberal minds are still active in the field of college administration. There must be more of them; only where are they?

MAXWELL GEISMAR, a contributing editor of The Nation, *is a literary historian and critic whose most recent book is "Rebels and Ancestors."*

An Objective Guide

SOVIET POLICY IN THE FAR EAST, 1944-1951. By Max Beloff. Oxford University Press. $4.

By Edgar Snow

FEW people are writing about Russia with such dependable objectivity as Max Beloff, whose two previous volumes have followed the record of Soviet foreign policy down to 1941. His present work, which analyzes the theory and practice of Soviet policy in Asia from 1944 to 1952, will add to his reputation for careful scholarship. Writing in England and happily free from a recent tendency among harassed American historians to sermonize or take side excursions to record their personal opposition to evil, Mr. Beloff is able to show that Soviet policy does not always command the full support and omnipotence of the devil. It is in fact environed by many conditions of history beyond Russian control, and these often decline to behave in accordance with diabolical prearranged patterns.

Like any other power, the U. S. S. R. can merely exploit situations in *Realpolitik* as they arise. Beloff does not ignore the ideological concepts and purposes within which Moscow operates, but he indicates at least some of its failures and suggests that its policies can be understood "only in the light of policies of other great powers, and of internal developments in Asian countries themselves." This approach would exclude as wholly absurd some local contentions that "American policy lost China"—or that Russian policy won it—ignoring elemental and decisive revolutionary changes and events in Asia itself.

For the most part Beloff is content to put the known facts together in a sound structure through which any adult reader may confidently move about and reach his own conclusions. Against a fine background of historical understanding he gives us what is "approximately the picture which the Soviet people themselves have of this part of the world scene," integrated with the more pertinent modifications and contradictions of that picture known to the rest of us. This is achievement enough for a single book. One need only point out, but not complain, that it is less useful as a reference work covering American and Asian sources than as a guide to Slavic material.

Where the author's basic purpose has been so well fulfilled it is perhaps fair to let his conclusions themselves suggest the main questions examined. Beloff rarely offers an opinion without careful qualification, but his introduction and final chapter provide the important observations and answers summarized below.

It is from the West, not the East, that the Soviet Union remains vulnerable—

EDGAR SNOW is the author of "Red Star over China," "The Pattern of Soviet Power," and other books.

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and in that direction still lie its main ambitions. Very probably at no time since 1945 has Russia been ready to risk a major war, though generally it has been quick to exploit chances to expand without one. Russia probably did not expect or plan for the Chinese Reds to take power after the war; not till 1948 did Stalin realize how important Soviet policy there was to be. Mao Tse-tung won supremacy largely by his own effort, and Russian military aid played no decisive role in the victory; but Mao's loyalty appears to be fully accepted by Moscow. Evidence is lacking of direct internal Russian control in China; the future of the alliance may depend on Russia's ability to satisfy China's economic needs.

Beloff is unable to prove Russia's authorship of the Korean war, though its share of responsibility is clear. He thinks Korea "doubly benefited the Russians." First, "it locked up a large part of the available strength of the Western world . . . in the least important of the threatened fronts." Second, "it confirmed the breach between China and the Western world."

Generally speaking, Communist power has expanded "rather from the weakness of the opposition to it than from positive contributions of strength from the Soviet Union." Seen from the NATO viewpoint, "the most novel and disturbing feature of the whole story . . . was the ability of the Soviet Union to fight its Asiatic struggles almost entirely by proxy." Similar opportunities exist today in various parts of Asia, the Middle East, and even Africa.

Peking now regards itself as "a primary source of inspiration, at least where Asian countries are concerned." If that is and remains true, then "Soviet policy, which has rested on the absolute identification of world revolution and Soviet nationalism, would receive a blow more fundamental than it has hitherto sustained." That sentence should be read as italicized and pondered more than once. The death of Stalin has even more greatly enhanced Mao Tse-tung's prestige as an Asian peer of the Kremlin demi-gods. But Beloff reminds us that China's economic backwardness may not really permit Peking to carry the same weight in world politics as Moscow. This fact relieves the Russians of fear of Chinese aggression. The tendency is to encourage Maoism to "look primarily toward Southeast Asia as a field for expansion" and to keep open "the breach between China and the Western world."

A report contributed by J. Frankel on Soviet policy in Southeast Asia which follows Beloff's own chapters on China, Japan, and Korea provides a useful outline study of that region. Unfortunately Frankel is not intimately informed on some events there during and immediately after the war which greatly shaped internal political developments, particularly in Indo-China and Burma.

New Books in Brief

Education of a Repatriate

STRANGER COME HOME. By William L. Shirer. Little, Brown. $3.95.

Mr. Shirer's second novel, though a little stiff and over-elaborate in spots, as if the author were uncertain of the relative values in his material, is a much more workman-like job than his first. Further, its topic is of such moment that even if it were done poorly it would still be intensely interesting. For "Stranger Come Home" is the story of a liberal, patriotic foreign correspondent who returns to the United States and a job as news commentator only to be first constricted, then admonished for giving facts about Franco and Chiang, forbidden to refute a slander against an American diplomat, and finally vilified, driven from his job and occupation, subjected to a Senatorial-committee hearing whose findings have been made in advance.

Most of the characters are clearly identifiable. Senator O'Brien, who has added the word "obrienism" to American political vocabulary, the ex-Communist informers who are treated with sickening adulation, the broadcasting executives, the columnist whose poisonous daily rantings spare none except Senator O'Brien and other native fascists. In the non-public characters Mr. Shirer deals with less outrageous—and therefore fictionally more credible—types. Surely there could be no rogue like O'Brien. And the spectacle of professional informers calmly and impudently "remembering" enough to damn and destroy persons whom they never knew, simply to keep on making a good living at their nasty trade, is almost unbelievable.

Humor and Verse

UNDER THE NET. By Iris Murdoch. Viking. $3.50.

"Under the Net" is a literary cocktail mixed by Iris Murdoch. As in all cocktails, the ingredients in this first novel are familiar; it is the sure touch and manner of their combination that is delightful.

True to a firm tradition in British humor, Miss Murdoch relied on eccentric characters rather than quick gag lines. To be sure, there is a good deal of wit and urbanity in "Under the Net," but these are tangential matters. The prime movers are always the people, who are—from the novel's scapegrace narrator to an aging canine film idol—fascinating. There are bookies, labor leaders, singers, and a completely enigmatic magazine dealer who never sells any magazines. There is also a rich man whose attitudes are shared by far too few rich men in this world; and a silent oddity named Finn, a cross between a leprechaun and a bog shadow.

The central character of "Under the Net" is a hack writer, Jake Donaghue. Among other things, Donaghue hates to pay rent. He also dislikes work, and spends most of his time working very hard to avoid it. Jake is a philosopher of sorts, admitting that "the substance of my life is a private conversation with myself." The substance of "Under the Net," however, is concerned with Jake's romantic and professional involvements. These are summed up with remarkable neatness in one passage: "I love Sadie, who's keen on you, and you love Anna, who's keen on me. Perverse, isn't it?"

Although Donaghue is a roguish figure, he finally succumbs to respectability, and by the end of the novel takes a steady job. This is a great pity, for individuals like Jake make better reading as they are. Most people, after all, do have to work for a living, which is precisely why glorious eccentrics like Donaghue and his friends are so much fun to meet occasionally in fiction. Donaghue with a steady job is like Casanova in a monastery—a sorrowful waste of first-class talent.

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The Garnetts

THE GOLDEN ECHO. An Intimate Autobiography and the Portrait of a Literary Generation. By David Garnett. Harcourt, Brace. $4.

In this country David Garnett is remembered chiefly as the author of "Lady into Fox," a surprise success of the twenties. At home he is probably even better known as representing the third generation in one of those minor literary families which England produces. His grandfather was a chief librarian at the British Museum, his father an important publisher's reader, and David grew up among the writers of his father's as well as of his own age. This first instalment of an autobiography carries him only to the First World War and it is quiet enough, but it manages somehow to capture very well the Indian Summer atmosphere in which young men seemed to be waiting for the catastrophe that was to destroy all the worlds of Edwardian and Georgian England. A bewildering number of agreeable youths in flannels are always laying down tennis rackets to go for a swim, and such personages as W. H. Hudson, Hilaire Belloc, T. E. Hulme, and D. H. Lawrence hover about. Ford Madox Ford, already weeping at thirty-five because he was convinced that the world would never appreciate him, and two of the Stracheys trying to give a very outré party which flopped are among the vivid episodes.

Somebody Blundered

THE REASON WHY. By Cecil Woodham-Smith. McGraw-Hill. $4.

At the Battle of Balaclava, the Light Cavalry Brigade was ordered to charge through a narrow valley, enfiladed on both sides by the enemy, and make a frontal attack on a group of Russian batteries. Clearly, in the words of Tennyson's famous ballad, "someone had blundered." But the disciplined six hundred went forward in perfect order: "Theirs not to reason why, theirs but to do and die."

Mrs. Woodham-Smith not only gives us a masterly description of the charge and the events that led up to it, but tells us "the reason why." The immediate cause was an ambiguous order given by the Commander-in-Chief, Lord Raglan. Also involved was the long-standing feud between two incredibly arrogant noblemen—Lord Lucan, commanding the cavalry division, and Lord Cardigan, chief of the Light Brigade. But ultimate responsibility rested with the British system of purchased commissions which elevated wealthy officers to positions they were incompetent to fill. In a piece of brilliant historical reconstruction, buttressed by careful research among hitherto unused contemporary documents, Mrs. Woodham-Smith illustrates this system by tracing the careers of Lords Cardigan and Lucan. The first had made himself notorious long before the Crimean War by his bullying of subordinates; the second, hardly less of a martinet had also won a fearsome reputation as a ruthless Irish landlord. When England muddled its way into the Crimean War, these two men, and others like them, were pitchforked into high command over the heads of far more experienced officers. The blunders of the campaign, of which Balaclava was merely the most spectacular, inevitably followed, and it was only the still greater incompetence of the Russian command that saved the British forces from total destruction. However, as the author points out, this war saw one notable innovation—the presence in the field of war correspondents. Their reporting of the horrible mismanagement of the generals and the courage and endurance of the troops led to successful demands for reform.

Amazing Nuggets

HIGH JINKS ON THE KLONDIKE. By Richard O'Connor. Bobbs-Merrill. $3.50.

A pleasant, journalistic account of the Alaskan gold rush, and particularly of what the author calls "a gold rush within *the* gold rush, the thieves, whores, pimps, swindlers, gamblers, confidence men, dive-keepers, bandits, and other rascals who proposed to do their prospecting . . . in the pokes and pockets of the miners themselves." Certainly the Klondike attracted a notable collection of crooks and roisterers: Soapy Smith, for example, who controlled the settlement at Skagway and utilized a remarkable variety of methods for fleecing the unwary; Swiftwater Bill, who tossed away two fortunes to maintain his reputation as a profligate; the celebrated Mizner brothers; and such specimens of erring though far from weak females as Nellie the Pig, Diamond Lil, and the Oregon Mare. In prospecting this last American frontier it is a pity the author did not dig a little deeper instead of contenting himself with picking up the surface nuggets.

The Anatomy of Despotism

WHY DICTATORS? By George W. F. Hallgarten. Macmillan. $5.50.

Ever since Plato and Aristotle political scientists have sought to generalize about the truth and consequences of various patterns of power—monarchy, aristocracy, democracy, tyranny, oligarchy, and mob rule. If no genuine "science" has emerged, this is no doubt due to the fickleness of the "political animal" rather

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than to any lack of industry by the investigators. Dr. Hallgarten, born in 1901 in Munich (where he won his Ph.D. in 1925) and a United States veteran of World War II, here attempts a comparative and historical study of dictatorship, ranging from the Greek and Roman tyrants through Savonarola, Cromwell, Robespierre, and the Caudillos to Lenin, Mussolini, Hitler, Franco, Tito, Stalin, Malenkov, and Mao. His purpose is to "debunk" the hero and to show that dictatorship is the product of specific conditions of social instability. He concludes that dictatorships all conform to four types—"classical," "ultra-revolutionary," "counter-revolutionary," and "pseudo-revolutionary," with the last two much mixed up together. The enterprise, albeit somewhat diffuse, is brilliantly executed. This volume is a valuable contribution to the politics of our time, viewed in historical perspective. Yet the result is not wholly successful. Despite much sociological erudition Dr. Hallgarten nowhere quotes or mentions Plato's famous explanation of the origins of tyranny in class conflict—which, conceivably, is more "contemporary" than the approach à la Max Weber, which Dr. Hallgarten employs.

Triumph of Corruption

LUCREZIA BORGIA. By Joan Haslip. Bobbs-Merrill. $3.50.

Notwithstanding some slipshod writing, this account of the notorious Lucrezia, her father Pope Alexander VI, and her brother Cesare, provides absorbing reading. Miss Haslip gives a stirring picture of an incredibly lusty and turbulent era, even though she shows unfashionable restraint in her use of the titillating material that the chronicles of the time supply in abundance. Its value as history is harder to assess. The author's bibliography is impressive but she indulges far too freely in undocumented reconstructions of her heroine's moods, feelings, and thoughts.

Another recent biographer of Lucrezia, Maria Bellonci, maintains that the lady has been much maligned by historians. Miss Haslip, while more severe, also suggests that Lucrezia was more sinned against than sinning. Given the moral atmosphere of a period when Italy was the cockpit of ambitious and ruthless adventurers, when the higher ranks of the church were corrupt to the core, when the Pope himself presided over obscene orgies in the Vatican and openly used the powers and revenues of his office to advance the fortunes of his bastards, we may agree it was something of a miracle that Lucrezia retained any vestiges of human decency.

Theater

Harold Clurman

IN MOLNAR'S "Liliom," one of the most charming of contemporary plays, the final scene shows Liliom on his return from the "other world" attempting a single good deed in order that he may be permitted to enter the heavenly kingdom. He has stolen a star from the firmament and tries to offer it to his daughter. When she refuses to take it, he slaps her. This bit of tender irony epitomizes the quality of the play. It is very European.

In "Carousel" (City Center), the musical Rodgers and Hammerstein made from Molnar's play, the scene I speak of is retained but it is followed by another. In this, the daughter sits listening to a country doctor's homily at her school graduation. The benign doctor tells the children that no matter how lowly their origin they can all make something of themselves. Billy Bigelow, a rural American Liliom, leans over his daughter's shoulder and whispers fervently, "Listen to him! Listen to him!", while blessing her with a paternal kiss.

The difference between the ending of Molnar's play and that of the American musical illustrates the different spirit of these works. It would be foolish to say that I prefer Molnar's ending to that of "Carousel," but it explains why, despite the admirable attributes of the musical, I have always found some difficulty in enjoying it fully. A little evil on the stage is a good thing. Molnar's Liliom, for all his inarticulate gentleness, is a rogue. In "Carousel" we are never for a moment allowed to doubt that Billy Bigelow is a wonderful guy. Good nature is unalloyed. If "Liliom" is honeyed paprika, "Carousel" is pasteurized and sugared buttermilk. I have a sweet tooth myself: I do not gag at sentiment or even sentimentality. But to be really nice shouldn't sweets have a little bit of spice?

Still "Carousel" is a delectable show, very near the top of the Rodgers and Hammerstein achievement. The tunes improve with familiarity. Time is needed for music to penetrate into our very bloodstream; when this happens we love it as the best in ourselves. The sound of "Carousel" is a breeze; to say that its melodies are aerated seems not so much a figure of speech as a literal description. In the first act particularly "June is bustin' out all over." Here the show is like a month in the country.

The production, directed by William Hammerstein, who heads the New York City Light Opera Company, is as light and fresh as organdy. The singing is never forced. The total effect is that of a natural *breathing*. Relaxation, affection, smoothness (without slickness) are keynotes. Barbara Cook is a darling Carrie Pepperidge. Chris Robinson is handsome without offense, and sings with an unassuming ease. The whole company is good.

A special word must be said about Bambi Linn and the ballet of adolescent loneliness Agnes de Mille designed for her. Miss Linn's dancing is a golden sunshine that suffuses shore and leafy strand with an energy which renews life and a tenderness which inspires tears. This would not be possible were it not for the delicately humorous awkwardness, the feminine impudence and bravery mingled with childish hurt and pertness which are so characteristic of Miss de Mille's fine talent.

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Records

B. H. Haggin

THE best recorded performance of Schumann's Piano Concerto years ago was that of a pianist named Yves Nat; and so I have been waiting with anticipation for the Discophiles français recordings of his performances of Schumann's Fantasy Op. 17 and Symphonic Etudes Op. 13—two of his finest works—that the Haydn Society announced for February. The record has arrived at last; and the performances are very beautiful. The lyrical and at times impassioned last movement of the Fantasy is played not with the usual exaggerated rubato but with inflections of pace that are governed by a sense for continuity and coherence—so that for once we hear it unsentimentalized and undistorted. And that sense for continuity and coherence operates also to integrate the episodic first movement. In the Symphonic Etudes Nat plays with subtly elaborating inflection that isn't heard in Casadesus's excellent performance, but again without the sentimentalizing exaggerated rubato of Katchen's recent performance. It is a pity, therefore, that Nat seems to have used a piano without sufficient resonance and power in its upper range for the fortissimos; and that the recording sometimes causes pianissimos to all but disappear in the distance—e.g., at the end of the first movement of the Fantasy. But I would want the performances even with these mechanical defects.

Nat's performances of Chopin's Sonata Op. 35, Fantasy Op. 49, and Barcarolle Op. 60 on another Haydn Society record have the same characteristics, which would make me want them in spite of the same mechanical defects, and even though I think the scherzo of the sonata should be played with more verve and tension.

The Haydn Society record with Henry Jolles's performance of Schubert's Piano Sonata Op. 78 I have delayed reviewing in order to consider it together with the EMS recording of Webster Aitken's performance. But the Aitken performance still hasn't arrived; and I will therefore report that Jolles begins well—with an effective and precise shaping of the tranquilly meditative opening section; which leaves one unprepared for the lack of rhythmic and tonal precision and clarity, the clumsiness and ineffectiveness in later sections of the exposition. Again, the beginning of the development is played with the required power; but the graceful section that follows is suddenly accelerated in a way that I can't go along with; then, when the powerful section is repeated, Jolles destroys the effect of the climax by introducing a tremolo into the bass instead of the tension-producing sustained notes in the printed score—this being one of several changes Jolles makes in what Schubert asks for. Nor do I care more for the stolid treatment of the other movements, and the enormous slowing down of the middle section of the scherzo. I therefore advise waiting for Aitken's performance of this great work.

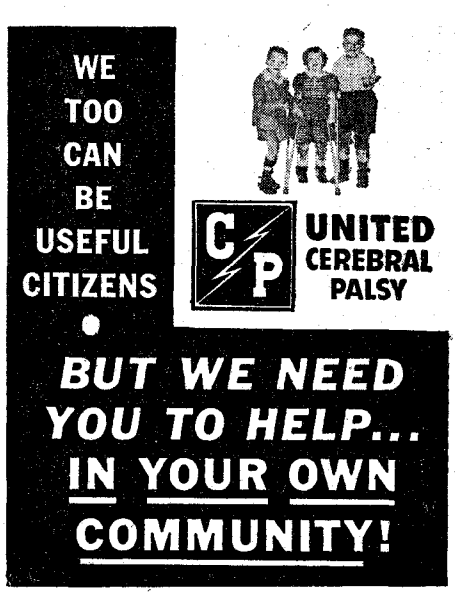
Bach's Chaconne for unaccompanied violin is played by Arthur Grumiaux with continuity of pace, outline, and tension that are highly effective in the work's crescendos of intensity. On the same Boston record are a similarly straightforward and engaging performance of Mozart's charming Sonata K.301, and a performance of the Sonata K.304 with the impassioned first movement taken too fast for it to achieve its effect—and both with merely fluent playing of the piano parts by Gregory Tucker. The recording gives Grumiaux's tone an excessive edged brilliance that necessitates reduction of treble.

Additional qualities of elegance and verve in Grumiaux's playing, and piano-playing with more musical life by Paul Ulanowsky, are heard in performances of Debussy's Sonata, a work I don't care much for, Ravel's "Tzigane" and Habanera, which I like even less, and Bartok's engaging Rumanian Dances. These performances the Boston record reproduces very beautifully.

Dvorak's Quintet Op. 81 for piano and strings has characteristically lovely themes and writing, but is, characteristically again, too long-drawn-out—this being especially true of the slow movement. The performance by Curzon and the Budapest Quartet is superb; and for the first time in all these years a Columbia record gives us the true sound, dark and rich, of Schneider's cello, the sweet sound of Roisman's violin, the warm sound of all four strings, with in addition beautiful reproduction of the piano, and perfect balance of piano and strings. These we hear in the first two movements on the first side; but in the other two on the second side—for reasons known only to Columbia—the sound is without its earlier depth, fullness, and sweetness, and is now shallow and edged.

The individual bird songs on the Cornell University records I mentioned last week are heard usually in a context of the other songs and noises of the locality; and part of one's pleasure comes in fact from the way, sitting in a city living room, one finds oneself in the midst of the life of a forest or marsh. This pleasure one gets also from the 12-inch LP Voices of the Night, which give the various sounds made by frogs and toads in the contexts of the sounds of the life around them.

A 10-inch LP, Music and Bird Songs, gives recordings of a number of songs and then what they are changed into by being slowed down; but just as one had to take the ubiquitous voice and comment of Edward Murrow with the words of Roosevelt and Churchill in You Can Hear Them Now, so one has to take with the sounds on this record the voice and comment of James Fassett of CBS.



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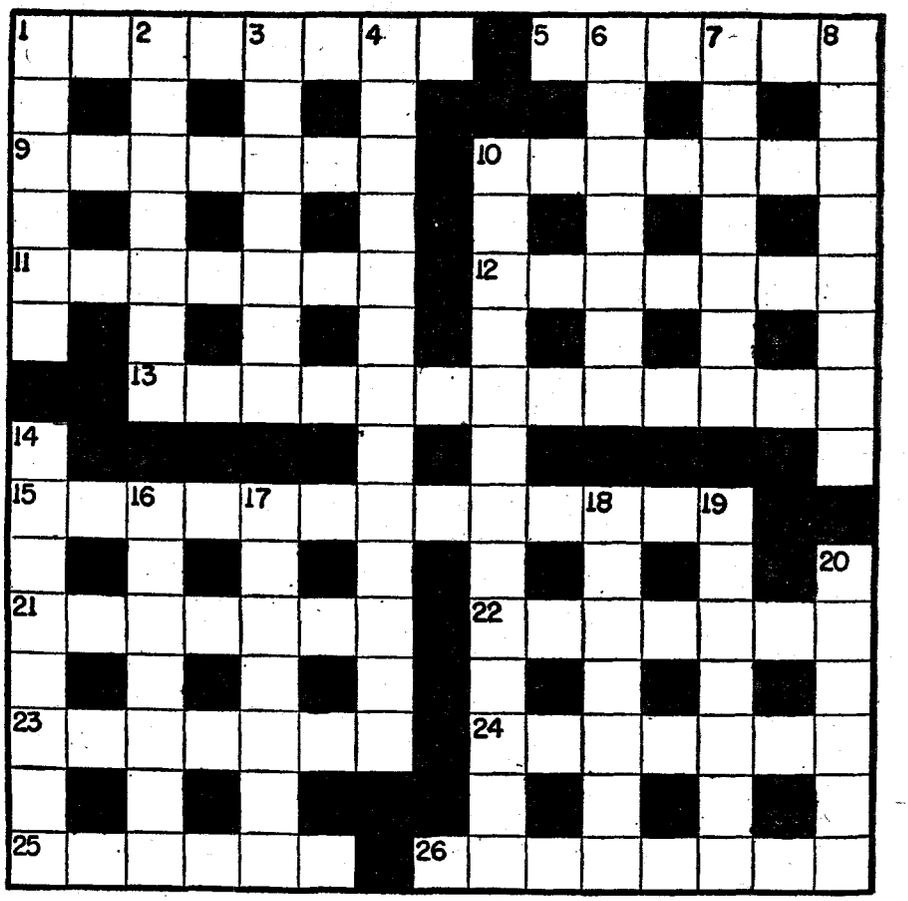
Crossword Puzzle No. 573

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 In the center of the bark, perhaps. (8)
5 All set to go off. (6)
9 The one that got away? (7)
10 Systematic. (7)
11 The sort of hound with two eyes that surprised everyone. (7)
12 Give the first of six name. (7)
13 Tossing the caber? No, this involves more footwork! (8, 5)
15 Cardial? (7, 6)
21 Found in a pest, else-wise. (7)
22 Once confused about being born in such a period. (7)
23 Any encaged in bars should be wood. (7)
24 I roll about and act uproariously. (7)
25 Walk like 8 without breakfast, perhaps. (6)
26 Once a good harp, now in bad shape. (8)

DOWN

1 With the wrong tune, this could be between China and the U. S. S. R. (6)
2 In the army, would a coming-out party do this? (7)
3 Ownership, not always legal! (7)
4 Obviously not complete dinner service, but some wouldn't dine without them. (7, 6)
6 and 20. British boarders got us in a row over this. (5, 2, 6)
7 Arranged to give it to men in the field of music. (7)
8 Don't get hit by shell-fire! (4, 4)
10 Looks like 1010. (3, 2, 1, 7)
14 A rather unhappy genuflection. (8)
16 Opened, in a way, after a number is stated. (7)
17 Prompt to the dance? (It should make a hit!) (3, 4)
18 Mid-day. (7)
19 Strangely enough, she suggests dark rather than light. (7)
20 See 6 down.

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 572

ACROSS:—1 PACER; 4 RAIN-CHECK; 9 TIME LIMIT; 10 ROPER; 11 TRUNCHEON; 12 IRONS; 13 ASPIRATION; 17 FORMATIONS; 21 ELSIE; 22 TULAREMIA; 23 ILIAD; 24 KNAPSACKS; 25 ENSHRINES; 26 SISAL.

DOWN:—1 PETITE; 2 CAMPUS; 3 RELICS; 4 RUMPELSTILTZKIN; 5 INTENTIONAL PASS; 6 and 14 CARNIVAL OF VENICE; 7 EUPHONIA; 8 KEROSENE; 15 BRASSIES; 16 CALENDAR; 18 FRISKS; 19 SMACKS; 20 VASSAL.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, New York.

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